



## A WORD FROM PRISON

Geoffrey Hall

If all you idle libertarians and movement people out there are wondering what to do with your free time, why not move your asses towards the action--high schools! Not that we grubby adolescents need to be manipulated by movement know-it-alls, but we do need support and "that charge that gets things moving" down here in the fountainheads of "education". Virtually everyone goes through all or part of these shit-years of life, so high school propaganda work has an almost unlimited potential for producing a large libertarian backing.

From one who is still incarcerated in a predominantly white, middle-class, suburban/rural high school; the situation has improved, especially during the last year. In the past the only sign of dissent was the appearance of a sporadic "underground" newspaper, put out by a few and ignored by the many. But this year a spontaneous surge of activity has already swept into the school halls. A determined group of disgusted students is coalescing around the issue of our student government.

Our bootlicking student council is the only claim to school democracy the Administration can shove at us; and invariably it is pointed out as the "proper channel" that we good little junior citizens must use to solve problems. But, for example, in three years of agitation against the dress code, the council would and could do nothing (it is powerless anyway). Only through our deliberate violation of the code and subsequent fears by the Administration of a student walkout (fantasy probably produced by SDS activity in other New England schools) were we able to smash the code. This fall the whole issue of student power and student rights is being raised by our rejection of the farcical student council.

Presently we are groping for an alternative--some organization (run entirely by and for students) to fight for our rights instead of fighting for the preservation of the squalid regimentation that a high school student faces. Nothing may come from this particular defiant incident in this school at this time, but sooner or later change will come as the students become more aware and sure of themselves in the battle for control of their education and their lives. What is beautiful is that everywhere in Amerika the level of high school student consciousness is rising, and with it a corresponding rise in activity as the State Public Education System starts to crack.

It is easy to see exactly why high school rebellions are so widespread and are such a universal phenomenon. Public Schooling is operated absolutely autocratically in most places--you have no say at all in how policies and decisions are reached, you just follow orders--and Authority lays itself bare as the enemy whenever a "rulebreaker" is summarily punished (detentions, suspensions, or expulsions). Compulsory schooling translates into jails for youth, rigid indoctrination, and a system for gearing the present generation to fit into the Amerikan System's needs--college, the military, or immediate absorption into the labor force. You don't need Paul Goodman's analysis to understand that high school is irrelevant to scholarly education and that it is basically a counter-productive institution when it comes to effective job training. Its aims are to teach social conformity and to stifle creativity, initiative, individuality and responsibility; in other words, it is a prison. It has to go!

High School students, don't sit and take the shit, but get out and agitate! Recapture the schools for your own interests, not for the interests of the ruling class and their System!

**RIGHT ON!**

**Italian charged with insulting flag**  
MILAN, Italy (AP) — An anarchist has been charged with insulting the U.S. flag as a result of a demonstration protesting President Nixon's visit to Italy 10 days ago.  
Authorities accused Michele Camilo, 45, of dragging on the street an American flag that had a swastika sewn onto it. If convicted, he could be sentenced to a prison term ranging from six months to three years. Insulting the flag of any country is a crime in Italy.

DOM MONTAGNA

THE ABOLITIONIST is published monthly by members of the radical libertarian alliance: John Brotschol, Ken Brown, Ralph Fucetola, Frank Richter, Geoffrey Hall, Steve Halbrook & Bill Baumgarth, issued monthly, \$2.00 per year. Member of the Libertarian Press Ass.

# A NICE LETTER FOR A CHANGE!

Dear fellas, Last Fall, while I was visiting New York, I had the opportunity to meet Walter Block, Ralph Fucetola and John Brotschol, although Ralph and John may not recall. Since that time Ralph and John have apparently

shaken off the last shreds of the Buckley/YAF sponsored chauvanism and imperialism. Their healthy and sensible development along the lines of individualist anarchism is one more heartening sign that a new and vigorous libertarian movement is in the making. As these and others continue to strengthen their dedication and their commitment, there can be no doubt that the individualist anarchist position will receive joyous new life and influence. The formation of the Radical Libertarian Alliance and the publication of THE ABOLITIONIST testify to the increasing development of serious libertarian thought.

Yours for a libertarian world,

John V. Peters

## Steve does it again!!

## TUPAMARISMO: THE REINCARNATION OF BAKUNINISM

Steve Halbrook

In the history of conscious anarchist movements in Uruguay, the first significant event occurred when anarchists represented that country at the last Congress of the Saint-Imier International (an "international Bakunist conspiracy") in 1877. As early as 1895 anarcho-syndicalist trade unions in Uruguay became significant, and this libertarian tradition continued over the decades. In 1929 the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina sponsored a Latin American congress of anarchists, wherein Uruguay was represented by the Federacion Regional Uruguay; this congress gave birth to the Continental American Workingmen's Association, which was first coordinated in Buenos Aires and later moved to Uruguay. Yet however much anarchism has been predominant in trade union activity (especially among dockworkers), Uruguay has yet to experience a successful anarchist revolution.

As a matter of fact, not only has Uruguayan anarchism been fuddy duddied, but it was never developed fully among the general populace. In 1965, Régis Debray pointed out the limited potentialities of traditional anarcho-syndicalism: "the chosen terrain of Blanquism was the working-class aristocracy of 19th-century craft industries, with its high cultural level. This hardly has any equivalent in contemporary Latin America, apart from the anarcho-syndicalist sectors of Buenos Aires and above all of Montevideo (where there exists an important anarchist trade union federation)--products of the first wave of Italian and Spanish immigration: their importance cannot be decisive."

The Tupamaros have changed all this, as is clear to all libertarians who keep up with the radical press. While little is known about the extent to which the Tupamaros have been influenced by anarchist ideology, it is an objective fact that their revolutionary organization and strategy as well as their objects are decidedly Bakunist. New York Times correspondent M. W. Browne has observed: "Both the statements and methods of the Tupamaros are in many ways more suggestive of anarchism than Marxism..."

Anyone who has studied Bakunin can appreciate the extent to which he was the real teacher and prophet for the revolutionary twentieth century; while the talents of the Marx of the Manifesto and the Commune are certainly to be appreciated by anarchists, it is a simple fact that Bakunin is much more relevant on most (including very fine) points. In regard to the Tupamaros this exhibits itself most strikingly in regard to the type of revolutionary organization which Bakunin outlined. Tupamaros are divided into highly secretive cells of 4 or 5 people, each cell of which is independent and coordinated centrally by leaders who meet once a year. Even the individuals within each cell do not know each other, though they vote for approval on actions to be taken.

What do these cells do? They do not, à la the Marx of Capital--the economic determinist and fatalist par excellence--wait around for "the proletariat" to "liberate themselves". To the contrary, they adopt the strategy of Lenin and Che, i.e., they organize all radicals from all classes and begin making the revolution; as Marxists from Plekhanov to Liechtein have pointed out, this is the strategy of Bakuninism (the very



idea of ignoring the glorious historical forces! How ghastly!). A prominent plank of the the Tupamaro platform is that the vanguard should begin the armed struggle which will itself create the subjective conditions for popular insurrection.

This plank is not simply babble--it is the imperative for action. Neither relying of the mass spontaneity myth of utopian "anarchism" nor the correct party line jibber-jabber of Stalinism, the Tupamaros long ago began the struggle against the sham "welfare" state of their country. The emphasis on smashing the old state is clear in a recent document they issued: "We have arrived at the firm conclusion that we cannot destroy this liberty-killing regime without systematically attacking its defenders: the police and the armed forces which sustain and carry out government policy." This does not mean that they have a policy of assassination (the old "propaganda by deed" of utopian "anarchism"), to the contrary; at one point they called upon the police to quit supporting the terror of the old regime, and the police actually went on strike at their behest. Unlike American radicals, who are intent on making clear how they hate America--ignoring that you do not radicalize people by screaming that you hate them--the Tupamaros are intent on bringing over as much of the police and military as possible to the Revolution, as well as the general population (among whom is distributed food from liberated grocery trucks and the such). Numerous methods are employed to make the people love them, so as to make "swimming" among the people easier. (The lesson that the Weathermen, who are much like the Tupamaros in other ways, need to learn in this connection is clear). "Exes" from banks are continually made, the funds going to finance the Uruguayan as well as the continental Revolution; even the police have commented on how courteous the hold-up men are!

As for ultimate ends, the Tupamaros have stated that this problem can only be solved when the time comes; nevertheless, three points are clear: the expropriators will be expropriated; the imperialists will be driven out; and the private property of the common man will be respected. Bakunin, too, often broadcasted that the role of the revolutionaries must be "destructive," i.e., they must concentrate on shattering the state and its manifestations and leave it to the future to determine production relations. Contrast this to the traditional Latin American Stalinist CPs, who write tomes on the best way to dictate to the masses on the morrow of the revolution and then spend their time reving the tomes (in the interests of the "fatherland", guess who) and condemning those nasty adventurists who make revolution before the "conditions" (oh those conditions!) are "ripe".

Tuparismo offers great lessons to American radicals-- theoretically, in reference to the world wide heritage of Bakuninism (recognition of which would do much toward dispelling the dogmatism into which the New Left has degenerated); and practically, with regard to tactics on how fish may best swim among urban waters-- which is also related to Bakuninism. It behooves us as American libertarians to adapt Bakuninism to the conditions of our own country, as the Tupamaros have done in theirs, and thereby work for the praxis of the anarchist ideal.

NOTES FOR A REPLY TO HALBROOK by James Bennett (Phoenix Anarchist Coalition)  
(LENINIST LIBERTARIANISM, STEVE HALBROOK, ISSUES #5 + 6)

1. I am what you would call a "classical" anarchist. To me this implies that I share the basic mental outlook of those that have previously called themselves anarchists. It means also that I identify with the struggles of past anarchist movements. Like Kropotkin, I see anarchism as a social theory based on reason and a scientific evaluation of human society, and that furthermore I see society as changable by human intelligence, although our choices are limited by environment.. One must keep in mind that Lenin saw his theory as an interpretation of Marx's rigid historical theme. If Halbrook advocates adopting Lenin's framework of historical analysis then "leninist libertarianism" must suffer all the flaws of Marxist historical analysis. If not then Halbrook ceases to become a Leninist at all and is merely another "classical" anarchist advocating Leninist (more Correctly, Nechayevist) tactics.

2. I am afraid that what Halbrook is advocating is a seizure of state power. Therefore, the "classical" objection remains valid; No ruling elite ever gives up power voluntarily and I am sure that would be just as true if self-proclaimed "anarchists"



→ if you bother to vote - write in ANDY ROTTER FOR CONG.  
→ ANDY CAN DO YOU NO HARM - HE'S TOO YOUNG TO SERVE.

Cont'd p6



# ANARCHO-APOLOGISTS & THE AMERIKAN RULING ELITE

Ralph Fucetola III

"Listen Americans, your government is an instrument of total lethal evil..." Tim Leary

The Old Right and the New Left in Amerika share one virtue, among others: almost no illusions about the monstrous role of the United States in recent world history. Unfortunately, many libertarians and even anarchists who originated in the Conservative political faction have not yet assimilated this view. In fact, too many of these people have managed to blank-out the actual history of Amerika and have taken many positions which make them in effect APOLOGISTS for the Amerikan ruling elite.

Certain libertarians drag this strange stance even further: they DENY that a ruling elite exists! They are unable to realize that the ties of school, family, "business", WASPness etc are real bonds among our rulers; that, indeed, there is a group of people who are gaining from the state--the state is, after all, merely a gang of criminals living off the people by massive, legitimized theft. That, as Gabriel Kolko has shown in The Roots of American Foreign Policy, most of the men who have made US foreign policy in recent decades have the same backgrounds and work for the same corporate interests. Or, as Kolko's Triumph of Conservatism indicates, the same rulers' unity prevails in the area of domestic policy. Either a cohesive, largely conscious ruling elite exists, or the entire bloody history of Amerika is a mere accident: not the acts of a criminal gang of men, but the action of... what? Blank out. Knee jerk. Love it or leave.

Last month the Society for Individual uninspiring "Think In" in Philadelphia apologist tendency surfaced openly.

"Libertarian Tactics in an urged close co-operation the "left" in those liberties struggles-- I discussed the need in deed as well as that "Amerika is the GROWL!!!, they reacted not like anti-statist of training by the state's

well. Someone shouted, over the general din, Knee jerk. Anti-communism. Amerika, defender of

JUST WHAT IS AMERIKA? Mass murderer of the they say Hitler intended); enslaver of the entire race of Blacks on this continent; imperial control of Latin America and many other places (not nice imperialism: "bur" allies in Brazil--today--regularly torture prisoners; Amerika pays her runing dog torturers \$1,500,000,000.00 stolen from all of us); bloody supression of popular revolts in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and, of course, the Phillipines after their "liberation" from Spain. World War II is a good example. Many revisionists fault the allies with causing the war, certainly the allies intitiated indiscriminate bombardment of cities, not the barbaric Nazis. The allies butchered millions of civilians. The allies held hundreds of thousands of German POW's as SLAVES two years after the war. That Amerikan monster, lovable Ike, forcibly returned hundreds of thousands of anti-communist Russians and Slavs to Stalin's tender mercies packed in cattle cars. Franklin D. Roosevelt plotted to turn a European war and an Asian war into a World War (see Old Right Henry Chamberlin's America's Second Crusade; also Harry Elmo Barnes in the most recent issue of "Left and Right"). Harry Truman used the inhuman atomic bombs on Japan thereby murdering hundreds of thousands of innocents. AMERIKA was the aggressor against Japan: the US seized property belonging to Japanese and forbade trade before Pearl Harbor; indeed, the Amerikan navy had attacked German subs on the high seas before that "day of infamy". Then there were the concentration camps for Americans of Japanese decent, where the death rate was somewhat lower than in the Nazis variety. Remember Dresden? How does it differ from the so-called death-camps? Is it that Amerikans are less likely to commit face-to-face atrocities, preferring to do it

Liberty held a poorly attended, at which this anarcho-

I was delivering a paper on "Era of Repression" which between libertarians and areas--like ACLU civil where our ideals coincide. to join the peace movement word, and stated in passing worst monster on earth..." like a herd of hard-hats, intellectuals. Their years schools served our masters

"What about Communist China!"\* etc the holy West.

Indians (as hidious a genocide as

cont'd p5

\*The Peoples' Republic of China, a nation whose foreign policy has been truly isolationist-- only using troops, as in Korea, when the enemy was on "her" border, threatening nuclear warfare, or WITHDRAWING after soundly beating the Indians along their common border.

from 20,000 feet? The war in Vietnam is teaching Americans: remember MyLai. Another example of Amerika's bloody associations: in 1966 the Indonesian army slaughtered 2 or 3 hundred thousand "communists" and received wholehearted US support and cash afterwards; our new allies then granted western "businessmen" various monopolies and state-trade privileges. Most recently, Amerika's gallant little ally, King Hussein--the Bedouin Butcher of Amman--used Amerika's gift of artillery to murder tens of thousands of non-combatants in their homes. Who is guilty? The murderer, certainly. How about that international mafioso and the biggest weapons merchant, Amerika? Amerika provided the weaponry for mass murder, Amerikan advisors planned the military campaign--is Amerika responsible for the acts of its running dogs?

Alright, that is a partial catalogue of horrors. Is Amerika the worst? Worse even than the sickening Nazis? If you try to see the twelve year reign of terror in Germany isolated from the history of modern world imperialism, certainly the Nazis managed to cram a lot of bestiality into a few years with typical German efficiency and fervor. But EVERYTHING! the Nazis did in World War II, the allies did nearly as well or better: the Nazis were responsible for the deaths of several million in concentration camps (though the most recent evidence indicates that the genocidal death-camps did not exist; for example, when the allies could not discover gas chambers at Dachau, they built one: even today, a sign on that chamber indicates that it was never used), BUT, it was precisely Zionist and imperialist refusal to come to the aid of Europe's Jews that left the Nazis with the "choice" of putting them in the camps where millions died of malnutrition and disease. Of course, Amerika's criminal blockade of food to Nazis-occupied Europe made those millions of deaths inevitable. In addition, you cannot separate Hitler from the causes of his rise. There were many, but several were major and necessary though not sufficient. Among these were foolish policies by Amerika (the Versailles fiasco) and criminal acts by Amerika: the Smoot-Hawley Tarrif was a crime, all tarrifs violate rights. The Depression was created by that law and Federal Reserve manipulations of the money system. Hitlerism, in every meaningful sense, was a foreseeable product of the Depression. Aren't criminals responsible for the probable results of their crimes?

In an overall sense, viewing the past century, the chief threats to the world have been the "nice", twin imperialisms of the US and Britain; not the brief flame of terror known as Nazism; not an isolationist China; not a surrounded Soviet Union\*. Amerika--the greatest monster of them all. A year ago, Karl Hess said, "to truly love this land you must first learn to loathe this nation and the system for which it stands..." (THE LIBERTARIAN FORUM, Sept. 1969). Love this land America: hate that beast Amerika and its ruling elite.

\* See Dr. Rothbard's "The Myths of the Cold War" as to who is really to blame. Is Russia evil for missiles in Cuba and Amerika to be called "protector" for its earlier missiles in Turkey? ★ See Ben Hecht's Perfidy. NOTE: I do not suggest that there

"WHEN IT COMES TIME FOR ME TO DIE, I'M THE ONE THAT'S GOT TO DIE, SO DON'T TELL ME HOW TO LIVE MY LIFE..."

JIMI HENDRIX

were no gas chambers, I just dare to note the allies' sinister role in the hideous affair.

Leonard Ligio

Dear Friends: If I had been a member of an international libertarian jury to pick the best libertarian article of the year, Halbrook's article on scientific and classical anarchism would have received my vote without any question. Ken Brown's article in no. 7 was particularly topical with Nixon's formalizing of the federalization of the universities by the creation of a thousand man FBI force in residence at the universities. From the humor of the travelling Californian letterwriter, singer et al. you can take heart that nothing succeeds like success in applying good theory to better practice.

A LETTER FROM LEONARD

BENNETT ON HALBROOK cont'd.

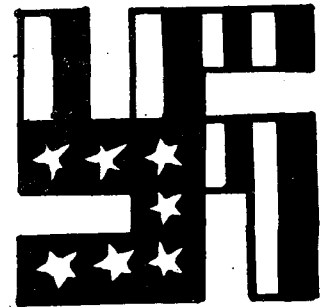
siezed power. Anarchism maintains that power must be destroyed by diffusing it to every individual. Brother Steve dows bring up two very good questions, and does a servise in doing so. These questions are: how do we make a revolution, and how do we defend it after it is made? Though these questions should be deathhwith at length, I will just say for now that revolution is spontaneous, but we as revolutionaries can bring it about sooner, and determine what form it will take. As to the problems of maintaining the revqlution, the new, voluntary, self-managing forms of anarchist society should eliminate the dependency on bureaucracy and provide the basis for a voluntary militia system capable of defense against counter-revolutionaries (see Forms of Freedom by Murray Bookchin, or A Letter from France: What Could Have Happened, both available from ANARCHOS--235 2nd Ave, NYC)

As to Lenin's histroical role, I still maintain it was objectively counter-revolutionary. The siezure of State power in itself, and all the subsequent acts: the suspension of civil liberties, the creation of a standing army, the re-intitution of a professional officer corps, the creation of a secret police, the creation of an elite military force (kursanti), the re-introduction of conscription, the supression of voluntary farm communes, the supression of workers' self-management in factories, the crushing of the trade-union movement (all of which occurred in the first year of Bolshevik rule, all with the blessing of Lenin), all of this was foretold by classical anarchists, because all of it flows necessarily from Leninist theory. Nor was the NEP a period of freedom: the workers were even more enslaved than before the Revolution. If Steve wants an example of a libertarian system, he should not look to the Bolsheviks.

(many thanks to Jim, who was the only person who disagreed with Steve and who bothered to set forth his reasons without typical "knee-jerk" anti-bolshevism. Nevertheless, Steve's basic points remain valid: one must destroy the old regime's bureaucracy to make revolution--ultimately Lenin failed; the NEP was a step toward a free economy--some of Lenin's economic advisors wanted to go much further, but were stopped by that arch-pig Stalin; and, of course, we must be willing to reappraise the role of all revolutionaries, even Lenin. rf3.)

love it or leave it

HEIL AMERIKA!



HEIL AMERIKA!

ANOTHER PLEA FOR DRAFT RESISTANCE

W. B. Conger

R.S.

It becomes increasingly apparent each day that abolition of military conscription will never result from political means within the System. Legislation, proposed by Senators Barry Goldwater and Mark O. Hatfield, which would have provided foundation for an all-voluntary military (still an arm of American imperialism, agreed, but a good libertarian foothold for eventual disposal of the national military), was rejected in the US Senate by a vote of 52 to 35, ending the Senate anti-draft fight for the remainder of this year.

This amendment was intended to draw volunteers with a military pay increase of \$3.2 billion across-the-board. It was believed that the wage increase could aid in forming an adequate army with out the use of coerced conscription within ten months after put in effect.

Mississippi Senator John C. Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and one long known as a pig by libertarians, launched a major assault on the bill with the argument that despite the pay raise, too few would volunteer to be used as American cannonfodder in Southeast Asia: "Men are dying every week in Vietnam. To reasonably expect to man our fighting forces on a volunteer basis under these circumstances is to indulge in unrealistic expectations..." There is no doubt that Stennis's argument is valid. Men will refuse to fight and die for a cowboy war like that in South Vietnam. This fact alone should be proof enough to Washington that we are sick of the senseless slaughter in Vietnam; demand immediate withdrawal, and additionally demand that we are never involved in its like again. But But the Senator would rather force young men to dee in foreign jungles against their wills and better judgements than to admit himself, and his war, to be wrong. Stennis has confirmed his pig status.

This situation examined, there can be little question that "working within the system" to fight the bureaucracy's slavery is a dead, worthless effort. Resistance, not armed revoltution, (which could very well be self-destructive when waged against the military itself) is the only workable step toward draft liberation. We must fight the conscription machine, but we must fight it carefully and skillfully.

See p8 for details on a DRAFT RESISTANCE program from W.R.L.



**BITS & PIECES**

**BY JOHN BROTSCHOL**

Information has leaked out from the State Department on the plan, Israel and the United States had worked out in the event King Hussein was being defeated by the combined forces of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Syria. The Israelis were to knock the Syrians out while the United States stood ready to invade Egypt to prevent their participation in the struggle. Israel was worried about the possibility of attack from Egypt coming across the occupied Sinai Peninsula. Needless to say, only the positioning of Israeli tanks on the Jordanian frontier was necessary to scare the Syrians and they quickly withdrew leaving the Palestinians to their fate, against Hussein's Bedouin troops (American armed, of course). President Gaafar el Nimeiry of Sudan, the leader of Nasser's peace envoy to Amman reported that the Jordanian army under the leadership of Field Marshal Habis al-Majali was terrorizing civilians, raping and looting..... The Jordanian Civil War was yet another lesson to the Palestinians in the deadly arena of world politics, just like 22 years ago the Palestinians trusted their fellow Arabs with the same result--sellout and defeat. In 1948, these people were urged to leave their homes by the Arab nations and join in the struggle to push the Jews into the sea and return to Palestine victorious. Instead, most of them are leaving in refugee camps: 506,038 in Jordan, 158,717 in Syria, 175,958 in Lebanon, 272,692 in the occupied West Bank, 311,814 on the Gaza Strip and 3,000 in the United Arab Republic (United Nations figures)..... The Washington Post has called for the creation of a Palestinian state hew about the West Bank as a location whose population is overwhelmingly Palestinian, and with the assistance of massive Israeli reparations, it just might work..... Here are some of the notable accomplishments of the late president Gamal Abdul Nasser of the UAR-- the building of the Aswan Dam with Russian assistance to provide water for the peasants and hydro-electricity for Egypt's factories, of course their was a price for Russia's generosity--Nasser did the Soviet Union's bidding in the Mideast..... Then there was Nasser's intervention from 1956 to '67 in the civil war in Yemen where the Egyptian air force engaged in the gas-bombing of open villages. Besides greatly weakening the UAR's economy, 70,000 Egyptian soldiers perished..... Need us not forget his heroic leadership during the Six Day War in 1967..... Remember Biafra, well it was Nasser who sent Egyptian pilots to aid Nigeria in its massacre of the Ibos. FREEDOM of England headlines an article on Nasser's death, "The Only Good Leader is a Dead One" as another true statesman bites the dust. Look for a feature article by an Arab student on the Mideast in next month's Abolitionist..... Senator Charles Goodell of New York, a hawk on the Mideast (the U.S. should give arms to Israel) and a dove on Vietnam, I guess that makes him a DAWK had the kiss of death placed on his power struggle-- Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Jane Fonda and Coretta King all endorsed his candidacy, that's all Spiro needs..... Look for things to happen in Chile as Marxist-socialist Salvador Allende and his radical party, the Unidad Popular take control of the presidency. His platform called for the full nationalization of the basic export industries of copper and nitrates (Anaconda and other U.S. business interests poured funds into the campaign of his rival former conservative president Don Jorge Alessandri). Allende also called for full agrarian reform, the opening of trade with China and the USSR, re-establishment of relations with Cuba and the nationalization of extensive sectors of the Chilean industry and banking, much of which is U.S. controlled. It remains to be seen if the CIA goes to bat for Anaconda whose in-human wages to Chilean miners greatly aided Allende's victory and if the profits of nationalization go to the workers or the Chilean bureaucracy..... Geoffrey Hall whose excellent article on the high schools appears on page one informs me that he has been SUSPENDED from his school along with 8 other students for mobilizing 250 students and refusing to re-enter their prison after a bomb scare. Hall hopes this will be the beginning of a student union in his high school. RIGHT ON, JEFF..... Don't forget the OCTOBER 31 Vietnam peace demonstrations, now that the so-called peace politicians have abandoned us again over Nixon's meaningless peace proposal its more important then ever to show the hacks that we're through with them and their war. Help your BOG group organize for this event and aid in draft counseling, resistance and any other way to stop the war machine..... Quote of the month: "There is a new deadlock of democracy today between a progressive President, carrying out his mandate for reform and a reactionary Congress in the grip of bitter men who forfeited that mandate." Spiro Agnew, September 10, Springfield, Illinois. Does that progressive president's mandate mean no knock laws, preventive detension on guinea pig blacks in Washington, D.C., Spiro?

er John F. Schneider

"...TO YOU"

resist the draft!!

- 8 -

A War Resistance League group in Virginia has initiated a mass draft resistance drive. The "Charlottesville Pledge" is a statement which pledges its signers to "strike the draft" when 100,000 potential draftees sign it. The signatories will return their draft cards to the government and refuse further cooperation with the SS. The assumption is that the draft would come to a halt without much change of government prosecution if 100,000 acted together. The address is: Charlottesville Pledge 128 Chancellor St, Charlottesville, Va. 22903. WRL (which is the American branch of War Resisters International, a non-aligned pacifist group) is located at 339 Lafayette St NYC 10012.

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THE RIGHT TO RULE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Imad-a-Din Ahmad

This paper is a preliminary exposition, aimed primarily at bringing to light the relevance of the Middle East situation to the theoretical arguments now heard in anarchist and libertarian circles on property rights and communalism. Forthcoming is a second, more complete paper, dealing in detail with the historical facts of the situation and specifically analyzing recent developments, which will be published in this journal. In the current paper we shall concentrate on the State of Israel's moral claim to its right of existence. We shall do that by asking three specific questions: Who has the right to "own" land in the boundaries of what is now called Israel? Who has the right to rule over the inhabitants of that land? By what means can justice be established in that land?

Who has the right to own the land now called Israel? In philosophical discussion of the right to own land there are many "hard cases" in the application of any particular theory of property rights. These hard cases arise when some particular theory of property does not decidedly settle the question of who owns the land. The question of proper ownership of the land in Palestine is not a hard case. Consider the consequences of assuming any of the popular theories of property:

"The claim theory", which states that the first person to claim unoccupied land is its proper owner, does not apply here, for Palestine was not unoccupied when the State of Israel was established. Trying to ask what person or group of persons first occupied the land is futile since the land has been occupied since the beginning of recorded history.

Property determined by occupancy and use, as defined by the American anarchist Benjamin Tucker, clearly decides the case in favor of the Palestinians, who were occupying and using the land when it was stolen from them. When the State of Israel was formed only 21% of the land in Palestine was in Jewish hands, and much of this land was owned by Palestinian rather than Zionist<sup>1</sup> Jews. Since that time the land has been seized from its Palestinian owners either by outright theft in the form of "eminent domain", or by the more subtle means of driving Palestinians off the land by violence and then claiming that the land had been "abandoned".

Now, hundreds of thousands of men and women who are the rightful owners of the land in Palestine are living as charity cases in refugee camps throughout the Arab world. There is no theory of property rights that denies them the right to win back their land save one: the theory of the State--the theory of Might, of the moral pre-eminence of brute force.

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1 Zionism is the name applied to the movement aimed at creating a Jewish state in the territory which was biblical Israel. Not all pre-Israel Jewish settlers in Palestine were Zionists. A good general introduction for libertarians on Zionism is Murray Rothbard's "War Guilt in the Middle East" in the 1967 issue of "Left and Right".

This article will be continued next issue.

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CALL FOR A LIBERTARIAN CONFERENCE ON  
REVISIONISM AND US FOREIGN POLICY

Several nyc/rla people are tentatively preparing a scholarly conference on revisionist approaches to recent American foreign policy. To be held on a weekend late in January, 1971 at Columbia University, NYC. Interested? Write LABS,

The Abolitionist  
% LABS GPO 2487  
New York, N. Y. 10001

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